

Who Counts as an Authentic Indigenous? Collective Identity Negotiations in the Chilean Urban Context

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journals.sagepub.com/home/soc**Dana Brablec** 

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Abstract

While increasing numbers of Indigenous peoples worldwide live in cities, mainstream research and practice continue to render urban indigeneity invisible and assume that Indigenous groups remain confined to a rural homeland. As a strategy of resistance to assimilation to their nation-states, Indigenous peoples in cities have tended to foster conceptions of ethno-cultural purity to defend their threatened cultures. Building on the literature on socio-cultural hybridity and based on ethnographic information, this article discusses the ways in which the Mapuche members of Indigenous associations in Santiago de Chile understand their indigeneity as urban dwellers. While the article reveals that the content of what counts as ‘authentic’ Mapuche-ness may vary for each individual, the Mapuche, framed by the collective participatory environment offered by their urban associations, attempt to perform, as best they can, the dominant understandings of what counts as indigeneity.

Keywords

authenticity, cities, ethnicity, hybridity, Indigenous associations, Mapuche, urban indigeneity

Introduction

As a reflection of the growing trend of global urbanisation, cities are rapidly becoming the main residential site for Indigenous peoples worldwide, representing one of the most important challenges faced by modern Indigenous groups. Land dispossession, poverty, militarisation, natural disasters, lack of employment opportunities and the deterioration of traditional livelihoods have contributed to Indigenous peoples’ urban migration. Indigenous peoples in cities often face particular challenges that make them vulnerable

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to a range of socio-political and economic inequalities (Horn, 2017). While a growing proportion of Indigenous peoples live in cities, mainstream research and practice continue to render urban indigeneity invisible and assume that Indigenous groups remain confined to a rural ancestral homeland. Once native people leave their rural homelands and move to cities, critics assume that urban Indigenous migrants lose their connection with their ancestral territory and, by extension, lose their Indigenous identities (Bello, 2002; Imilan, 2009).

The shaping of Latin American countries' identities has entailed a simultaneous and mutually overlapping development of state and nation in which Indigenous peoples have occupied an important place in the foundational myths of the nation-state. The incorporation of Indigenous peoples into the nation-building process has corresponded with the melting pot conception which was converted into a founding myth of Latin American *mestizo* nations; that is, the mix of European, Amerindian and African identities. However, the actual components of the melting pot myth are, in many cases, relegated to the background, giving way to the symbol of national identity: the *mestizo* individual. Helped by the centripetal force of the educational systems, Indigenous peoples in Latin America were incorporated into modern nation-states in a precarious form with strong incentives towards assimilation and acculturation, quickly constituting the poorest segments of these societies (Curivil, 2001).

In a crucial bid for Indigenous cultural recovery, practice and maintenance in cities have been the roles displayed by Indigenous organisations (Thiers, 2014; Van Cott, 2007). The Mapuche people in Santiago de Chile have not been an exception. As a result of the long-standing consequences of a state-based campaign to annex Indigenous territory during the 19th and 20th centuries, a large proportion of the Mapuche have been forced to abandon their lands, migrating to cities in order to find better life prospects. Of the Mapuche, 35 per cent are congregated in Santiago (Censo, 2017) which is nowadays the city that concentrates the largest proportion of Mapuche individuals in Chile. The high proportion of Mapuche population in Santiago has corresponded with an increasing number of urban associations, which currently amounts to 81 (GORE, 2016). Mapuche associations have presented a space for the collective re-creation of the homeland through the organisation of cultural activities that foster a sense of belonging to the territory of origin but also to the host milieu. The Wallmapu, as an alleged true home, embraces emotional notions that evoke romanticised sentiments of nostalgia for what is now lost and has to be recovered, prompting practices of belonging through these activities which are actively performed and re-created within Mapuche associations. Accordingly, Mapuche associations in Santiago have been playing a crucial role in the revival and exercise of Mapuche cultural features appreciated as emblematic of an 'authentic' Mapuche identity.

This article advances a novel understanding of the complexities behind the claims for an Indigenous identity in the framework of a contemporary city context. To this end, this article examines the different identity categories created and implemented by the Mapuche to classify each other in relation to the possession or fulfilment of features appreciated as central components of an 'authentic' Mapuche ethnicity. The article builds on ethnographic information to explore how ideas of Indigenous authenticity have impacted the ways the Mapuche understand their indigeneity as urban dwellers. While

the article reveals that the content of what counts as an 'authentic' Mapuche may vary in each Indigenous association, 'the authenticity prejudice' (Albuquerque, 2011) remains structurally the same. Here, Albuquerque is referring to how urban Indigenous individuals are forced to perform, as best they can, the dominant understandings of what counts as indigeneity. By recognising the complexity behind the notions of belonging and emplacement, this article reflects on the interplay between elaborations based on 'the authentic rural' and 'the hybrid urban'. The article contributes to the growing scholarship on urban indigeneity by reflecting on the tensions of authenticity the Mapuche face when claiming an Indigenous identity from Santiago de Chile.

Tensions in Primordial Sedentary Approaches of Indigenous Authenticity

One of the greatest myths about Indigenous peoples is their inevitable loss of identity in favour of the majority when they move to the city. In contrast, various studies (Maidana, 2013; Restoule, 2005; Warren, 2017) have demonstrated that Indigenous peoples in cities are strongly oriented towards continuing their Indigenous identity collectively. However, even with their increasing residence in urban areas and the multiple strategies followed to re-create their culture, Indigenous identities have been widely assumed to be sedentary, that is, confined to an ancestral homeland. While Indigenous peoples indeed have an overarching attachment to their homeland (Watson, 2010), they have been presented as imprisoned by an attribution of physical and ecological immobility, that is, an incarceration 'by what they know, feel and believe' (Appadurai, 1988: 37), without the ability to reconstruct their identity beyond the homeland borders as Indigenous residents in cities. Once Indigenous peoples move to the urban setting, primordial sedentary views maintain that the connection with the ancestral homeland is lost and so is their indigeneity. This has resulted in a conditioning of Indigenous peoples to live up to ideologies of authenticity from which the non-Indigenous society is excluded. As a result, Indigenous dwellers in cities are perceived as less authentic, less legitimate and an even more dysfunctional people (Gagné, 2016). As Smith (2012) maintains, this conception limits contemporary Indigenous actors' agency and options by establishing expectations of authenticity combined with accusations of identity invention and illegitimacy.

Similarly, this article challenges this essentialist line of argumentation by maintaining that Indigenous identities persist in cities after migration. This article understands ethnic identities as fluid, leading individuals to consider the milieu beyond its physical dimension, usually accompanied by different forms of cultural representation. Therefore, new environments, such as the urban one, can acquire symbolic meaning (Becerra et al., 2017) upon which Indigenous peoples can construct and reconstruct identity. As the Mapuche researcher Ramón Curivil (1997: 5) maintains, 'today, Mapuche identity is no longer territorial, which does not mean that currently there is no Mapuche territory. This rather means that inhabiting a certain territory is no longer decisive in the construction of the identity of a people.' In this way, Indigenous diasporic identities are subject to a permanent re-organisation in terms of a search for preservation while being subject to a transformation of their ethnic boundaries in cities.

As in the case of other Indigenous peoples worldwide, the dominant conception of Mapuche culture and history still reproduces Indigenous narratives that restrict Mapuche socio-political issues to the geographical boundaries of rural Chile. When in Santiago, the Mapuche are mostly seen through the lens of poverty, stripping them of major ethnic considerations. Despite the circumstances that triggered migration, Indigenous rural-to-urban resettlement has usually been viewed as an abandonment of their identity and assimilation into the majority society (Peters, 2011), with cities signifying sites of alleged cultural loss. Cities dominated by the 'other' non-Indigenous agent become emblems for identity hybridisation processes in contrast to the assumed authenticity of the rural-Indigenous milieu.

The term hybridity has been productive from its origins in biology and botany to its reclamation in the work on diaspora from authors as diverse as Hall, Bhabha and Gilroy. The most conventional accounts assert hybridity as the process of cultural contact, transfer, mixing and exchange. By questioning ideas of purity and homogeneity, hybridity has challenged one-sided definitions of national, cultural and ethnic group identities as well as individuals' identities (Raab and Butler, 2008). Following a constructivist identity standpoint, Hall (1989) wonders if there is any point when an identity is fulfilled as identities are always in a process of production. Identities are thus entrapped by what Hall (1989) calls two simultaneously operative vectors: the vector of similarity and continuity; and the vector of difference and rupture. Indigenous identities in urban areas seem to fit in this dialogic relationship in which modern urban elements play a double role of being part of the mainstream as well as being a challenge to primordial ideas of authentic indigeneity. For authors such as Gilroy (1994), the same idea of hybridity implies an inevitably binary distinction between something that is or used to be pure, and something that has lost its quality of purity and become mixed. However, for Ewing (2006), the notion of hybridity has been important for valorising the identities of those who occupy culturally in-between spaces; in-betweenness provides 'the terrain for elaborating strategies of selfhood – singular or communal – that initiate new signs of identity' (Bhabha, 1994: 2).

Ideas of hybridisation have been particularly pronounced in Latin America. Post-independence discourses and material manifestations of *mestizaje* envision the future by valorising Indigenous peoples' glorious past and heroic resistance to Spanish conquerors (Smith, 2012). De la Cadena (2006) recognises that there has been a tendency among western scholars to identify the notion of *mestizo* with that of 19th-century hybridity and translate it as the mixture of two previously pure racial identities: the Amerindian and the European. During the 19th century in Chile the ideas of assimilation and homogenisation were conceived as the only ways to generate a national identity that would fit into the project of a unique and unified common homeland. Hybridity was paired with conceptions of impurity associated with the *mestizo* given the inherited connotation of the social order being altered by the biological and cultural mixture of members from different categories. As a result, the *mestizo* individual was usually conceived of as occupying the intersection of two social constructions: as an improved Indigenous individual but, on the other hand, as a synonym of degeneration due to the mixture with the same Indigenous element (De la Cadena, 2006). De la Cadena (2006) highlights the role of Latin American states in the constitution of racial regimes of power in relation to privileged social groups

that impose their image on those considered to be inferior. As a result, efforts were made to indoctrinate peoples so as to create national cultures by letting Indigenous cultures die.

During the 20th century, hybridisation theories started to leave behind negative connotations of inferiority, contamination and perversion (Raab and Butler, 2008). As pointed out by Gutiérrez (2010), the thesis of the degenerated Chilean *mestizo* of the 19th century gave way to a patriotic reaction that exalted the *mestizo*. The Chilean population found new horizons of national pride based on their *mestizo* identity as bearers of the true national values. However, in the Latin American nation-state building and consolidation processes, essentialist discourses of indigeneity have left an increasing number of Indigenous peoples living in cities vulnerable to allegations of inauthenticity (Paradies, 2006). Social and geographical orthodoxies, for different reasons, have been propagated by both Indigenous and non-Indigenous people alike. Usually, the neoliberal state demands authenticity by recognising the rights of Indigenous peoples who 'have been relatively untouched by history' (Paradies, 2006: 361), that is, in the words of Rivera Cusicanqui (2010), to those *indios permitidos* (sanctioned Indigenous) who comply with social, political and economic criteria imposed by their corresponding states. By doing this, the nation-state denies the actual existence of Indigenous peoples who have been able to overcome the forces of colonialism by adapting to the new historical circumstances. Framed by an international Indigenous movement mostly articulated from the rural setting to secure lands, natural resources and a legal framework that reproduces colonial-based ideologies (Gagné, 2016), Indigenous peoples worldwide have frequently adopted an essentialist stance on the homeland as a strategy of resistance 'against national governments and multinational corporations' (Watson, 2010: 272). The Mapuche have not been alien to these claims. Through an essentialisation of identity, Campos et al. (2018) note that the Mapuche relationship with public authorities in Santiago has been based on the strategic use of folklorisation to obtain state recognition of rights.

While the essentialist connection between identity and the Mapuche homeland, the Wallmapu, may appear as a politically required depiction of Mapuche society, it creates a series of obstacles for the majority of the same Mapuche people who currently live in cities. This includes the perpetuation of stereotypes that reduce indigeneity to rural dwelling (Appadurai, 1988; Horn, 2017; Watson, 2010), anachronistic perceptions of indigeneity as pre-modern in which traditional ways of life are out of place in the fast-moving globalised world (Yashar, 1998) and the supposed contradiction between indigeneity as local-rural and urbanisation as global non-Indigenous (Appadurai, 1988). As a result, the understanding of Indigenous forms of identity resignification outside the boundaries of the homeland is overshadowed (Watson, 2010). This condition promotes the concealment of the experiences Indigenous peoples have in the urban milieu including the history of migration which frames new expressions of political activism and organisation over time. By understanding rural-to-urban Indigenous diasporas through the lenses of hybridity, 'in-between' individuals have a degree of comprehension of, at least, two sets of identity categories, namely, the identities of their homeland and those of the receiving milieu, allowing movement with a relative degree of flexibility between two supposedly opposite identity worlds (Dahlman, 2004).

The Mapuche's modern geography reflects a complex process of colonialism, deprivation, migration and urbanisation that essentialist primordial approaches do not fully

account for. Indigenous residence in urban areas, rather, casts serious doubts on ideologies of authenticity that couple indigeneity with homeland dwelling as a requisite to Indigenous identification, opening new theoretical routes towards cultural hybridism (Brown, 2011; Tuck and Yang, 2012). As Jacobs (2014) maintains, ethno-racial identities are the products of both macro-level historical forces and micro-level interactional events. Doubtlessly, the sustained consequences of conquest and colonisation have affected identity conceptions of the 'us-Mapuche' and the 'others-non-Mapuche'.

Methodology

This article is part of an ongoing ethnographic study that started in 2015 on identity recreation practices developed within Mapuche associations in Santiago. The methodology builds on De Souza's (2016) *Epistemologies of the South* proposal, by which the author makes a call to recover and valorise the epistemological diversity of the world. To this end, the emphasis of the study was on empowering the Mapuche participants through the development of horizontal, fluid and dialogical links that made them an active part of the research process. This study endeavoured to overcome paternalistic limitations by performing the role the Mapuche memberships decided for me in all those activities for which I was accepted. As a result, collaboration was developed fluidly over time. This created several possibilities for reciprocity that ranged from cleaning venues, serving food in ceremonies and writing projects for the application to public funds for the development of activities.

While participant observation and in-depth semi-structured interviews constituted the main research methods, for this article, the main focus is on the interviews with 34 Mapuche members of urban associations. The associations included in the study were initially selected from a directory of urban Mapuche associations based on a random sample. In later stages of the fieldwork, and building on the contacts already generated within the initial set of associations, the selection process became a snowball approach resulting in a total of 11 associations. The sample used in this study excluded those associations that were not linked to the organisations that were the facilitators of information for the snowball. The mixed random/snowball sampling approach resulted in a sample that focused on associations that prioritised cultural recovery and that tended to engage in close negotiations with the state, especially at the local-municipality level. Consequently, other types of associations, such as those that had a more confrontational approach towards the state, were not incorporated into the final sample. These associations were located in eight different socio-economic municipalities including El Bosque, La Florida, Macul, Maipú, Peñalolén, Providencia, Puente Alto and Santiago Centro.

Gaining access to the 11 associations was an ongoing process of negotiation and building rapport. As a native Chilean, although coming from a European and not a Mapuche or *mestizo* background, my access to the associations relied on the distance generated between me and pejorative Chilean/*mestizo* considerations. However, the perception of me as an educated non-Mapuche woman, placed me in a more powerful position which, in turn, afforded me more legitimacy to participate in the associational activities. This was also reflected in the high level of access received from the public sector at the local, regional and national levels.

The selection of interviewees was intended to consider Mapuche individuals from different backgrounds such as different rural-to-urban migrant generations, diverse longevity in the association, gender and age, among other areas. The final sample was formed by 23 women and 11 men, with an age that ranged from 21 to 72 years old. Questions asked during interviews followed an open-ended format in which the use of a questionnaire helped to have a consistent idea of the thematic areas of the interview without restricting the process. The questionnaire to Mapuche memberships encompassed 35 open-ended questions organised around four themes: basic information about the participant; ethnic identification trajectory; Indigenous organisational trajectory and ideas on ethnic collective work; and the relation with the urban milieu. Depending on the willingness and time constrictions of the interviewees, 10 interviews were conducted in public spaces and 19 in the association's meeting place. In five cases, interviews were undertaken in the homes of the interviewees. In turn, depending on the participant's request and after having signed the consent form expressing this permission in writing, interviews were audiotaped.

After transcribing and translating the interviews from Spanish into English, aiming to preserve the voice of each interviewee, data were analysed following a traditional sociological course based on grounded theory. When asked about the ways in which they understood their ethnicity when living outside their ancestral territory, the interviewees offered explanations which revolved around three categories, all introduced by the same participants: *warriache*, *champurria* and *awinkado*. These categories were not the initial foci of the research, but over the course of dozens of interviews and several months of fieldwork they emerged as recurrent topics. A subsequent period of field research was conducted in Santiago to discuss and re-frame the empirical analysis considering the comments received from this study's Mapuche participants. The result of these multiple conversations is presented in the following lines.

Urban Mapuche or *Warriache*

The notion of 'urban Mapuche' began to be freely used in the 1980s by Mapuche organisations involved in a political resistance against Pinochet's dictatorship in Santiago. Later, the concept was incorporated by the state and used in the Indigenous legal framework. During the 1990s and from the same Mapuche diaspora in Santiago (Alvarado, 2016), the neologism *warriache* (*warria*: city; *che*: people), emerged as a category that sought to endow the Mapuche experience in the city with a sense of identity beyond rural essentialisms as well as represent the fluidity of the Mapuche diasporic experience. The Mapuche contemporary identity is based on complex processes of colonial continuity in which instruments of domination, classification and hierarchisation 'of bodies and biographies' (Alvarado, 2016: 140) crystallise as means of socio-cultural configuration. However, *warriache* opens a reflexive angle that challenges uniformity within the Mapuche society by posing the urban, the new and the hybrid in perspective of a word that is born from the Mapuche language.

The terms 'urban Mapuche' and '*warriache*' have been equally used to refer to the Mapuche in cities (Imilan, 2009). Together with differentiating the urban from the rural-Indigenous identities, the term *warriache* aims to creatively update the historical

territorial identities linked to the ancestral homeland by creating a new geographical division, the city, for those urban Mapuche dwellers. However, an understanding of *warriache* is far from reaching consensus. While some interviewees claimed that the *warriache* identity represented a political stance by claiming an urban indigeneity in Santiago, others maintained that this new category only served to fracture the Mapuche people even more. One example of this tension is offered by Marcelo (pseudonyms used throughout the text). Marcelo was born and raised in Santiago by his rural community-born Mapuche parents. Marcelo has been one of the main leaders of his association located in a peripheral area of Santiago. When asked about his Mapuche identity, Marcelo replied:

I admit being 100 per cent urban. I am urban because my family, social and community lives are developed in the city, not elsewhere. My territory is my place of origin, where I was born, that is, the city. When I speak of urban Indigenous people, I am not aiming at separating one reality from another, we are all Indigenous.

Marcelo is clear in stating that he is not fostering a categoric divide between a rural and an urban reality. The distinction noted by Marcelo relies on notions of territorial identity. According to Marcelo, the territory for the Mapuche individual is where the person is born and raised and, most importantly, where the family and closer community are based. Distancing himself from diasporic conceptions that tend to define the territory and community of origin as the one and true homeland, Marcelo regards Santiago as his territory because both his family and community, represented by his urban association, are currently based in Santiago. In the current construction of Mapuche identity narratives, two notions occupy a significant role: *tuwün* (place of origin) and *kupalme* (parental descent). As noted by Imilan (2014), *tuwün* and *kupalme* become spatial metaphors that articulate the production of identities and a sense of collective Mapuche belonging. However, these identity narratives are in tension with the experience of the Mapuche who live in the capital, given that Santiago is located outside the Wallmapu borders. Nevertheless, the growing proportion of Mapuche people living in Santiago has been challenging traditional ways of appropriating and inhabiting urban space, redefining for some people like Marcelo what Mapuche-ness actually means. However, the vast majority of the Mapuche interviewees declared a discomfort with the use of *warriache* and its urban connotations. In this group of people is Carla, Marcelo's mother and current leader of their Mapuche association. Regarding the urban category, Carla maintains:

The person who does not know the culture is the one who mixes things. That person says urban-Mapuche. Most of us are in Santiago not because we want to but because we were forced to migrate. We are part of the same people, the Mapuche.

Carla views the use of '*warriache*' and 'urban Mapuche' as inappropriate cultural stances that create a new identity category different to the historical Mapuche one. As a result of an alleged cultural ignorance of some Mapuche, identification categories are used to classify individuals in regard to their place of residence, a practice that is not part of a traditional Mapuche worldview. Rural and urban categories do not correspond to the Mapuche territorial centre represented by family geographical origin, *tuwün*, located

within the boundaries of the Wallmapu. While several Mapuche interviewees declared to have generated a sense of belonging in the city, the majority of them resisted the idea of presenting a new territorial identity. Carla also states that her residence in Santiago did not respond to a willingness to leave her territory of origin behind but to the extreme poverty she had faced in her community. Because of this forced uprooting, Carla seems to emphasise that she, as an urban dweller, is still part of the same Mapuche ethnic group. Younger Mapuche generations born in Santiago have also sustained a similar opinion. In this sense, Claudio points out:

Warriache is an invention of people who do not know their culture. It should not be used because we are Mapuche here and wherever. When talking about *warriache* we are thinking like *Winka*.

Claudio discards the idea of the *warriache* as a new Mapuche identity by claiming that it represents an alien neologism that does not respond to their history as people. As something perceived as external to the Mapuche, the *warriache* conception is appreciated as something less Indigenous and therefore closer to the *Winka* mindset. The term *Winka* refers to the non-Mapuche or white person, used by the Mapuche to denote the Spanish and later the Chilean people to whom different pejorative moral conceptions are attached. To distance himself from this less-Indigenous *warriache* identity, as a Mapuche who was born in Santiago, Claudio specifies that identity is not necessarily related to a geographical dwelling but to a knowledge of the Mapuche culture. In consideration of this position and based on her own experience as a Mapuche born in Santiago, Millaleo (2006) maintains that there is a deep resistance among the Mapuche to accepting an identity grounded in urban precepts. According to Millaleo (2006), presenting the urban milieu as a form of territoriality would imply the emergence of a new collective memory linked to modernisation processes typical of the *Winka* society. However, while effectively immersed in modernisation processes, the Mapuche ancestral territory helps create a diasporic identity among the Mapuche in cities, constituting the ethos of urban Indigenous associations. While identity can be re-constructed from Santiago, the collective memory of the Mapuche seems to be rooted in a rural sense of territoriality.

Champurria

Champurria originates from the Spanish term *champurrar*, inheriting its original meaning of mixing different elements (Diccionario de la Real Academia Española, 2018). The concept was introduced to the Mapuche vocabulary at some stage during the colonisation period, marked by the active border economy between the Mapuche and the Spaniards, and later between the Mapuche and the Chileans (Pinto, 2000). From its linguistic origin denoting a mixture of liquors, the term was extended to signify race mixture, being exclusively used today by the Mapuche as an identity marker. From a biological perspective, *champurria* is comparable to the understanding of *mestizo*; however, they are not synonyms, as *mestizo* reflects a separate social category (Webb, 2013). While from a biological perspective, *champurria* relates to a Mapuche and *Winka* mixture, from a cultural perspective, it differs from the *mestizo* conception by denoting an identification with the Mapuche realm.

As maintained by De la Cadena (2010), it is impossible to separate the components that form Indigenous-*mestizos* as indigeneity has always been in an in-between space, that is, as part of modernity and also different, therefore, never fully modern. However, the term *mestizo* has usually referred to the adoption of the dominant groups' identity when recognising, at the same time, a biological and even a cultural mixing with the Indigenous component. Modern-day discourses still tend to uncritically assume *mestizos* as closer to the colonising side by overlooking their Indigenous heritage. In the case of Chile, this has been the result of a history based on the replication of colonialist hybridity discourses that have affected the way in which Chileans conceive *mestizos*, *mestizaje* and race, determining positions of power. The conception of the *mestizo* in Chile is the result of a historical social construction that seeks societal homogeneity, thus allowing governments to speak of a unique sense of national identity: *chilenidad*. This construction of social uniformity is challenged by the *champurria* and its identity response found in the Mapuche sphere (Alvarado, 2016). From a Mapuche point of view, this identity is not pure, but it enables its bearers to demarcate themselves from the dominant Chilean culture. However, not all Mapuche accept that *champurria* are one of them.

As a result of the coexistence between the Mapuche and the *Winka* cultures, the *champurria* as an in-between identity has been paired by some Mapuche with a pejorative conception linked to the idea of being less Mapuche and more *Winka*. As Hutnyk (2005) maintains, the idea of 'borrowing' is sometimes taken to imply a weakening of cultures as a result of an alleged sterile mix. Ana was born in Santiago to Mapuche parents. During the interview, Ana expressed her discomfort regarding her urban dwelling because the proximity to the non-Indigenous 'other' leads to the loss of an alleged purity. In this regard, Ana suggested:

I do not want to be an urban Mapuche. But my husband is not Mapuche, unfortunately. It is super difficult to find a Mapuche partner, especially here in Santiago. They are all *champurria*, all mixed. That is why I am participating here [the association] because I want my family to be with other Mapuche.

Ana classifies herself as an urban Mapuche given her upbringing in Santiago. Her Mapuche ancestry, reflected in both her family branches, has led Ana to discard a *champurria* identity. However, Ana identifies the majority of the Mapuche in Santiago as *champurria*, given the difficulties of maintaining an alleged racial purity when having a *Winka* partner. As a consequence of their geographical dispersion within cities, intermarriage is frequent among the Mapuche. As part of an authenticity project, Ana decided to approach an urban Indigenous association to help her own mixed-race children to maintain their identification by having cultural contact with other 'pure' Mapuche in Santiago. If her attempts are successful, Ana's children will be Mapuche *champurria*; that is, the biological mixture of Mapuche and *Winka* blood but self-identified as Mapuche people. Despite the understanding of *champurria* as blood hybridisation, some members of Mapuche associations have tended to appreciate a relationship with cultural hybridisation. Vanesa was born and raised in a rural Mapuche community. In regard to how she lives her Mapuche identity in the city, Vanesa says:

I try to reach an intermediate point. If I live here among the *Winka*, I have to divide myself; I am Mapuche, but I am also a bit *Winka*. One becomes halfway *champurria*, making connections with the *Winka*. That impacts the way I see my spirituality. Because the *Winka* make prayers, they respect the saints as much as I respect *chawngechen*, my Father.

During the interview, Vanesa presented as an identity preservation strategy in Santiago what appears to be a selective adaptation to the *Winka* society. By choosing to adopt certain *Winka* cultural traits, Vanesa stated that her identity has become more *champurria* in Santiago. Contrary to Ana's opinion, Vanesa's appreciation of the *champurria* identity seems not to be pejorative but rather a legitimate alternative for those Mapuche who are immersed in the *Winka* culture. However, Vanesa was born and raised in a rural community, acquiring important Mapuche cultural traits. In this regard, Vanesa says that she is able to select the elements she wants from the *Winka* culture and discard those she does not wish to incorporate into her life. As maintained by Chambers (1996: 50), most accounts assert hybridity as the process of cultural mixing in which diasporic individuals 'adopt aspects of the host culture and rework, reform and reconfigure this in production of a new hybrid culture or "hybrid identities"'. Vanesa illustrates her *champurria* identity approach in the spiritual area, which appears to be an informed comparison more than an unconscious religious syncretism. Appreciated as in-between the purity of the rural-Indigenous subject and the urban-*Winka*, numerous members of Mapuche associations in Santiago tended to self-identify as Mapuche *champurria*, evidencing their cultural and racial *mestizaje*.

Awinkado

Different to the previous two categories, *awinkado* leaves little room for other interpretations: it is frequently used in a derogatory sense. The word *awinkado* comes from the Mapuche term *Winka*. As pointed out by Caniqueo (2006), its use has led to the establishment of an ethnic border through which both actors, the Mapuche and the *Winka*, have been raised in ideological colonial categories. The concept of *Winka* has not only had a racial significance that points to those individuals that phenotypically look as outsiders to the Mapuche group but has also inherited a pejorative ethical conception based on a historical distrust that is operative to this day. However, as stated by Barth (1969), ethnic borders are problematic and dynamic. It is in this same complexity that the notion of *awinkado* is situated. The Mapuche individual becomes an *awinkado* when crossing the border from what is understood as the ideal Mapuche and approaches the way of being that is attributed to the *Winka* (Hernández and Pezo, 2010). In that sense, the *awinkado* is the one who challenges the Mapuche ethic and begins to behave according to what the Mapuche conceive as *Winka* cultural codes.

Sergio has lived in Santiago for more than 20 years and is a leader of his Mapuche association. For his upbringing in the leading family of a Mapuche community, Sergio is particularly critical of what he appreciates as a profound identity loss by the Mapuche who migrate to Santiago. Sergio says:

When the Mapuche arrive in the city, they suffer a human transformation. Although they have a face that they cannot get rid of, they think they are *Winka*. They say, 'I want to have my car, I want to dress like a Chilean'. That is why I do not accept the concept of 'urban Mapuche' or 'warriache'. Because when you become a *warriache*, you forget your roots, your origin and your way of being Mapuche.

For Sergio, *awinkamiento* (the process through which the Mapuche identity approaches the *Winka*) is intimately related to the uprooting of the Mapuche's traditional geographical environment and its consequent urban residence close to the non-Indigenous 'other'. This, according to Sergio, would lead to the moral transformation of the Mapuche. Even when trying to conceal their Mapuche identity, Sergio maintains that the Mapuche cannot get rid of their Indigenous phenotype. For Sergio, then, the problem is from a cultural behavioural perspective: dwelling in the city, conceived as a quintessentially *Winka* environment, dilutes the purity of the Mapuche essence. As pointed out by Alvarado (2016), migration to the city implied a loss of status within their rural communities for those who migrated, becoming *awinkado* given the supposed acquisition of the codes and customs of the *Winka* 'other'. In this sense, Sergio appeals to an image of authenticity in which the Mapuche would lose their purity by leaving the rural milieu of Indigenous peoples and by adopting trends and owning goods that are attributed to the non-Mapuche. As Paradies (2006) suggests, education and material assets generate suspicion within the Indigenous community. The concept *awinkado* assumes the existence of a pure Mapuche that is being questioned as a product of the sustained contact with the 'other' *Winka*. As a result of this quasi-betrayal committed by the Mapuche *awinkado*, Sergio is against the *warriache* and the use of urban adjectives to refer to his Mapuche peers, as both concepts put into question the alleged authentic indigeneity of the Mapuche.

A proportion of the Mapuche diaspora in Santiago have had to learn to live as outsiders in both rural and urban worlds. They face pressure from the non-Indigenous urban society to hide their indigeneity and from the rural Mapuche society of origin who accuse them of a lack of authenticity. This has been the case of Valeria. Valeria was born in Santiago to Mapuche parents. Her experience as an urban leader has hinted at this tension in relation to what the Mapuche in Santiago are allowed to do and not to do in order to keep their membership of the ethnic group and association. In this respect Valeria points out:

I have been told that I am an *awinkada*. Other Mapuche have told me everything: that the Mapuche do not dye their hair, that I do not have a Mapuche face, that the Mapuche are not studious, that I do not do household chores and that is why my nails are polished. That is why it is important to self-identify and not to let others make the decision for you.

Identifying certain physical and behavioural traits that would not conform to the expected norm of a Mapuche woman, Valeria's Mapuche peers have accused her of a lack of authenticity due to her supposed process of mimicking the 'other' *Winka* women. Both her transgressions in terms of physical complexion and personal presentation as well as her interests outside of what is expected from a 'real' Mapuche woman, have been arguments for Valeria to be labelled as *awinkada*. This situation has led her to

conclude that in certain Mapuche circles, to be accepted as a member of a Mapuche association, it is necessary to undergo a cultural folklorisation so as to distance oneself from the *Winka*. This tendency has been reflected in what I call an *exaggeration of inter-ethnic differences* in which Indigenous people attribute pejorative characteristics to non-Indigenous individuals as a way of separating themselves from these ‘others’ and by doing so, reinforce a sense of their own ethnicity. From the interior of the Mapuche associations themselves, essentialist positions have been developed with respect to the Mapuche identity. As indicated by Alvarado (2016), there has been a tendency to reproduce a biological culturalism based on innate characteristics that would make the Mapuche unique. In this sense, for Valeria, it is important to have a strong sense of self-identification as Mapuche that would allow them to avoid calls for an anachronistic folklorisation in relation to what it means to be and behave as a Mapuche in Santiago.

Conclusions

Exploring how urban Indigenous individuals inhabit, negotiate and challenge definitions of Indigenous identity in cities is important as regimes of biological and cultural authenticity continue to dictate policies and practices that regulate the everyday lives of Indigenous peoples around the world. Without the debates presented in this article, new ways of being Indigenous could be overshadowed. As discussed in this article, the reconstruction of Mapuche identity in Santiago is outlined by the assortment between those who have come to terms with their *champurria* identity and those who attempt to recover a supposedly Indigenous purity. Inevitably, however, the Mapuche in the city do not comply with all the ‘assumed givens’ of an ‘authentic’ Mapuche-ness as a result of their urban dwelling. Nonetheless, the Mapuche in Santiago still have the option to recover relevant cultural traits that may help them gain better social acceptance and thus distance themselves from *awinkado* conceptions. Because it is apprehended in a collective process of learning, culture is the stronghold of the process of ‘becoming’ more Mapuche and less *awinkado* in the city. As a result, urban Mapuche associations have made the recovery and implementation of cultural traits their main objective.

Since the recovery of democracy in Chile in the early 1990s, the Mapuche in Santiago have been actively engaged in an identity re-construction process in the urban milieu. Although they are heterogeneous groups, urban Mapuche associations have shared a desire to remember and enact practices identified as characteristic of an alleged common homeland, the Wallmapu, enabling new identification possibilities for their memberships. In their search for resources for the development of cultural activities, frequently in the form of language workshops, urban Mapuche associations have been engaged in an interactional process with the state. Consequently, the state has tended to condition its support upon fulfilment of a series of demands. As suggested by Richards (2004), the Chilean state tends to economically favour Indigenous claims based on cultural recognition in line with the ‘*indio permitido*’ criteria, while diverting attention from demands based on political recognition, which would result in a more radical redistribution of power and resources into Mapuche hands. With the purpose of establishing support ties with the state that would allow the carrying out of cultural activities, associations have tended to reinforce an essentialist array of cultural traits that appeal to a homeland-based

ethnicity. Thus, some urban Mapuche associations have tended to use 'strategic essentialism' to meet an ideal of '*indio permitido*' set out by the state to qualify for the necessary funds to support the re-creation of their culture. This, according to the Mapuche historian Sergio Caniuqueo (2019), has led the Mapuche to be transformed into a cultural community.

The Mapuche in Santiago constitute a powerful point of reference to consider the coexistence of heterogeneous elements that neither aspire to fuse with the identity of mainstream Chilean society nor want to produce a new identity category such as 'urban Indigenous' or '*warriache*'. However, ideas of racial and cultural purity have been generating fractures among urban associations leading, in turn, those non-participant Mapuche to feel a lack of representativeness. As a result, political articulation through mechanisms of representation that are legitimate for the Mapuche, that are agglutinating and that respect the diversity of visions, has been co-opted by private interests and normative discussions about cultural authenticity. Caniuqueo (2019) is right in this sense: the Mapuche are a modern society with some important sectors that are trapped in a discussion based on Indigenous authenticity. Although this debate helps to re-create an identity in opposition to other identities such as the *Winka*, it fractures the Mapuche cultural identity by claiming the need to live according to imagined and idealised ethnic traits. Currently, by refraining from promoting over-romanticised ideas of Indigenous identity, Mapuche associations in Santiago constitute dormant sites of potential radical identity re-articulation.

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